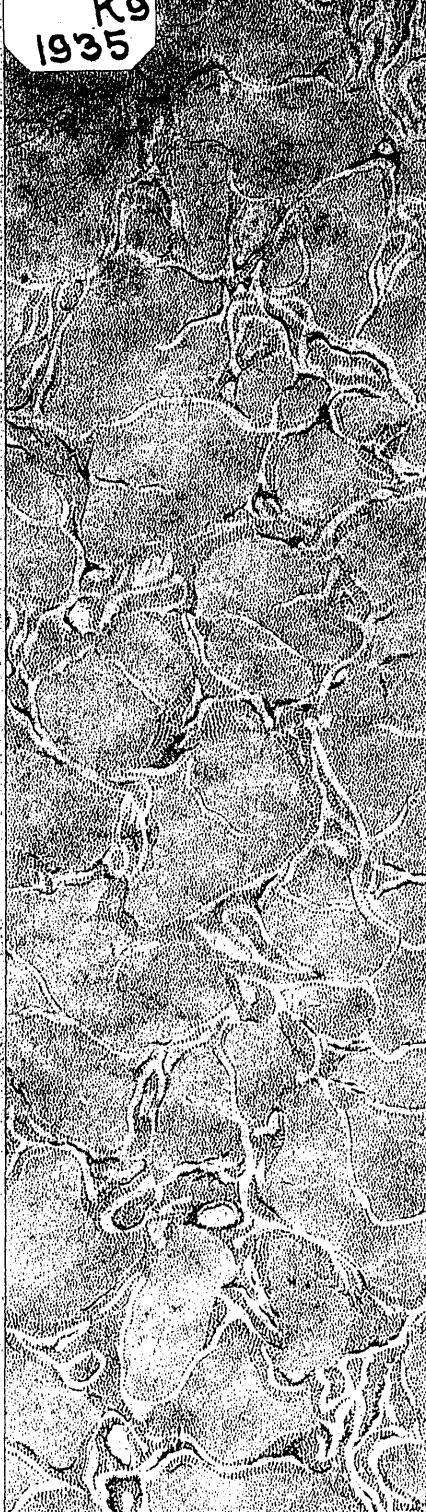
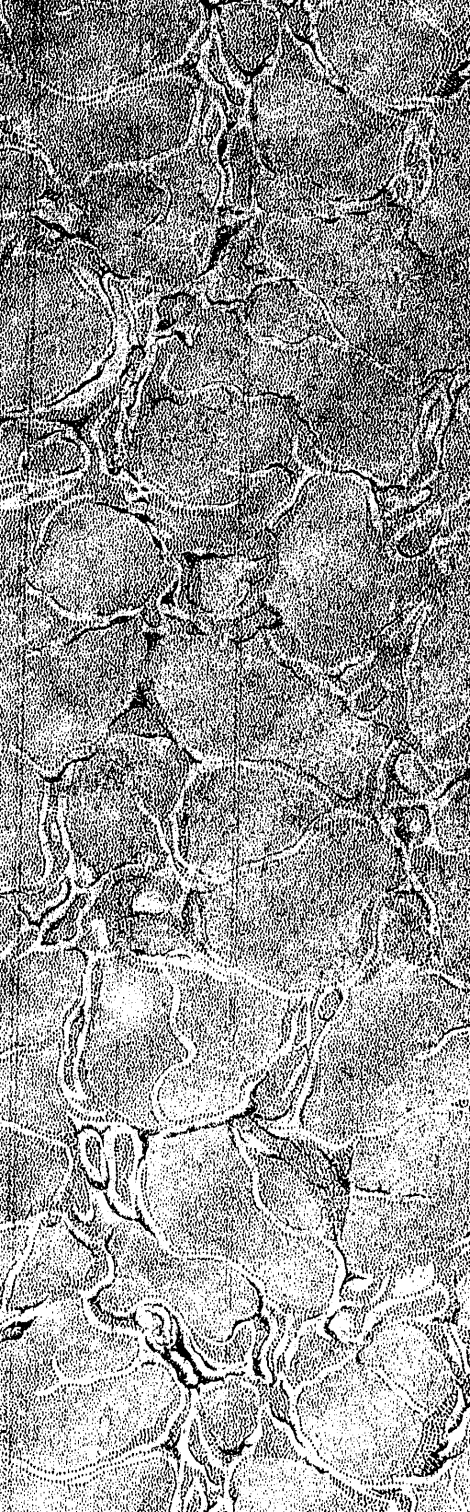


Tatianus

K9
1935





The University of Chicago
Libraries



Greek

STUDIES AND DOCUMENTS

EDITED BY

KIRSOPP LAKE, LITT.D.

AND

SILVA LAKE, M.A.

III

A GREEK FRAGMENT OF TATIAN'S DIATESSARON FROM DURA

EDITED WITH FACSIMILE, TRANSCRIPTION, AND INTRODUCTION

BY

CARL H. KRAELING, PH.D.

LONDON: CHRISTOPHERS

1935

Already Published:

I. THE EXCERPTA EX THEODOTO OF CLEMENT OF
ALEXANDRIA By Robert Pierce Casey

II. EPIPHANIUS DE GEMMIS
By R. P. Blake and Henri De Vis

Volumes in the Press:

IV. THE VISIO PAULI: *The Latin Tradition of the Text
from unpublished Mss.* By H. T. Silverstein

V. FAMILY II AND THE CODEX ALEXANDRINUS
By Silva Lake

Volumes in preparation:

THIRD CENTURY PAPYRI OF ENOCH, ST. MATTHEW, ACTS,
AND AN UNKNOWN WRITER
By H. A. Sanders and Campbell Bonner

THE CAESAREAN TEXT OF THE GOSPEL OF MARK
By K. Lake, R. P. Blake, and Silva Lake

THE ARMENIAN VERSION OF THE SERMO MAIOR OF
ATHANASIUS By Robert P. Casey

STUDIES AND DOCUMENTS

EDITED BY

KIRSOPP LAKE, LITT.D. AND SILVA LAKE, M.A.

III

A GREEK FRAGMENT OF
TATIAN'S DIATESSARON, FROM DURA

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

R. P. BLAKE

CAMPBELL BONNER

F. C. BURKITT

H. J. CADBURY

R. P. CASEY

HENRI DE VIS

BELLE DA C. GREENE

H. A. SANDERS

A GREEK FRAGMENT OF
TATIAN'S DIATESSARON
FROM DURA

Tatianus.

EDITED WITH FACSIMILE, TRANSCRIPTION AND INTRODUCTION

BY

CARL H. KRAELING, PH.D.

LONDON: CHRISTOPHERS
22 BERNERS STREET, W. 1

CAPE TOWN

MELBOURNE

SYDNEY

WELLINGTON

TORONTO

BS3560
A2T2K9
1925

COPYRIGHT 1935, BY KIRSOPP AND SILVA LAKE



PRINTED IN THE U. S. A.

BY THE HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS, CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

PLATE MADE BY THE MERIDEN GRAVURE COMPANY

*Booked
Burr*

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
I. DISCOVERY, DESCRIPTION, PROVENANCE AND DATE . . .	3
II. RECONSTRUCTION OF THE TEXT	8
III. THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE TEXT AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE	11
IV. THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGE OF THE DIATESSARON	15
V. THE TEXT OF THE DIATESSARON	19
VI. THE TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT AND THE DURA FRAGMENT	36

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF GREEK, ARABIC, LATIN, AND DUTCH VERSIONS OF THIS PART OF THE DIATESSARON	12
FACSIMILE, TRANSCRIPTION, AND CRITICAL APPARATUS . .	<i>At End</i>

**A GREEK FRAGMENT OF
TATIAN'S DIATHESSARON, FROM DURA**

A GREEK FRAGMENT OF TATIAN'S DIATESSARON

I

DISCOVERY, DESCRIPTION, PROVENANCE AND DATE

Discovery. The fragment with which the following pages deal is now preserved in the parchment and papyrus collection of Yale University, at New Haven, Conn., where it is listed as Dura Parchment 24 (D Pg. 24). It was discovered at Dura-Europos on the Euphrates on March 5, 1933, in the course of excavations conducted by Professor Clark Hopkins for Yale University and the French Academy. The general area from which it was taken is designated L8 on the key maps of the excavation, and the particular place is a spot in the shadow of the western city wall near Tower 18, less than a city block north of the Palmyra Gate and only a short distance south of the Jewish synagogue. Judging from its condition and outward appearance when found, it had been crushed in the hand and thrown away as a piece of waste paper. But it fell, or was dumped afterwards, into a great embankment of earth, ashes and rubbish constructed along the inner face of the western city wall by the Roman garrison, in preparation for a siege.¹ Here it was protected from the elements by the material heaped over and around it, by the layer of mud bricks with which the embankment was covered, and by the desert sand which eventually covered the whole city.²

¹ The function of the *glacis* which ran along both the inner and the outer face of the wall and protected it against mining operations has been briefly discussed by Count Du Mesnil de Buisson, *La Guerre de Sape il y a dix-sept siècles*, in *L'Illustration*, No. 4718, August 5, 1933, pp. 481-483.

² Of the non-literary texts found at other points along the wall some have already been published by F. Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos*, 1926, pp. 281-337; by M. I. Rostovtzeff and C. B. Welles, *The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Preliminary Report of the Second Season of Work*, 1931, pp. 201-216; and by C. B. Welles, *Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrologie und antiken Rechtsgeschichte*, Vol. XVIII, 1934, Heft 19, pp. 379-399.

Description. The fragment is a small piece of fairly heavy parchment, about 9.5×10.5 cm., badly frayed or eaten away at the lower end, and seemingly ripped or cut along the other three sides. It appears at one time to have belonged to a roll, for there is writing on one side only. The right margin of the column of text with which it was inscribed lies well within the right edge of the fragment, but there are no signs either of sutures or of another column of text further to the right. There is no evidence, therefore, to show whether we are dealing with a piece of a roll written with a series of short columns running across it, or with one in which a single column ran the length of the parchment. The analogy of literary rolls of papyrus suggests the former, but the custom later followed in writing liturgical texts on vellum points the other way.

Portions of fifteen lines of text are visible, and fourteen of these can be read and restored with some degree of assurance, but so little remains of the fifteenth that its reconstruction would be mere guesswork. Since the line formed by the left margin is not entirely vertical to the written text, the number of letters to be supplied at the left to complete the lines varies somewhat. The normal number, however, is five. From this it follows that the width of the column of text was approximately 10 cm. In some places the surface of the parchment has been eaten away entirely, leaving no trace of the letters written there. In filling the lacunae thus created it is important to note that in the first five lines the letters stand close together, averaging 30–39 to the line, while in the last nine they are farther apart and average 26–25.

The text is written in a good book-hand, not without some grace and vigour. The strokes used in making the letters are shaded, curved when possible rather than straight, and the tips are frequently decorated with a small hook or apex turning to the left. The letters themselves are broad, as nearly as possible of the same dimension, and widely spaced save in parts of the first few lines. There are three kinds of *alpha*, the older uncial, the transitional, and the third-century cursive type. *Phi* and *beta* are wide and rather angular; *mu* is characterized by a deep saddle; *upsilon* has a high flat top somewhat re-

sembling *tau*; *epsilon* is still carefully rounded, its horizontal stroke restrained and placed high in the arc which it inscribes. *Sigma* is made in one stroke, its upper part often extending far to the right, without, however, setting the curve of the letter askew. *Pi* varies in width, but its cross-bar is usually very long and extends far beyond the vertical strokes to left and right. *Kappa* and *tau* seem to be made in two strokes, the second of which is the right foot of the *kappa* and the right half of the horizontal line of the *tau*. *Tau* and *eta* are written as a ligature in l. 2. Words are frequently set off from one another by blank spaces, an extra wide space (13 mm.) marking a paragraph in l. 3. Abbreviations are indicated by a line drawn above the letters and by a point following them, placed in the middle of the line (cf. ll. 3, 10, 13).¹

Provenance. There is no way of telling exactly where the roll to which our fragment once belonged was written. The natural presumption, however, favours Mesopotamia, because the contents preserved are so closely connected with Mesopotamia in use and distribution, and it would be difficult to deny that scriptoria capable of producing such rolls existed in the Roman era, at least in cities like Edessa.

Date. In attempting to date the fragment by its script the natural procedure would be to fall back upon the extensive body of evidence for the Greek and Latin palaeography of Mesopotamia which the excavations at Dura have produced. But this is unfortunately impossible, because, with the exception of the present text and pieces of a Hebrew prayer-roll as yet unpublished, the parchments and papyri discovered at Dura are of the non-literary type. Since fluctuation in the literary script is far less pronounced than that manifested by business hands, it is entirely legitimate to fall back upon the Greek palaeography of Egypt for purposes of comparison. This comparison shows that the hand of the Dura parchment is an early fore-runner of the "severe" or "Bible style" of the fourth cen-

¹ I am indebted to my colleague, Prof. C. B. Welles, for instruction regarding the significant palaeographical facts.

tury A.D., and that it may safely be assigned to the first half of the third Christian century.¹

The date which palaeography suggests for the fragment is confirmed and rendered more precise by archaeology. The embankment along the city wall, in which the parchment was found, was constructed after 254 and before 256–257 A.D. Of these dates the first is that of Dura Papyrus 90, which was buried under the *glacis*,² while the second is the presumptive date of the capture and final destruction of the city by Shapur I.³ This gives a definite upper limit to the date of the fragment. What its lower limit may be is more difficult to decide. The fact that it came from the embankment erected in the very last years of the city's existence does not forbid an early dating, for the same embankment has yielded papyri written as early as 88 A.D. On palaeographical grounds the whole period back to 200 A.D. must be kept open. It is possible, however, with but slight help from conjecture to arrive at a more specific date within the upper and lower limits already determined.

The work of the fifth season at Dura (1931–1932) showed that between 222 and 235 A.D. one of the wealthier property owners of the city transformed a part of his residence into a Christian chapel.⁴ It is inherently probable that the roll to which our fragment belonged was used in the worship of this sanctuary. This probability is supported by the fact that the area in which the fragment was discovered is but two city blocks north of the site of the chapel,⁵ which was demolished to permit the construction of the embankment in which the parchment came to light. The date of the chapel may therefore be taken as the approximate date of our fragment, which

¹ See W. Schubart, *Griechische Palaeographie*, in Müller's *Handbuch*, I, 4, 1, Munich, 1925, p. 136.

² Cf. C. B. Welles, *op. cit.*

³ See A. R. Bellinger, *New Material for the History of Dura*, in *The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Preliminary Report of the Third Season of Work*, New Haven, 1932, pp. 161–164. The date of the city's capture is determined by the sudden and complete termination of the otherwise profuse yield of coins.

⁴ See P. V. C. Baur, *The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Preliminary Report of the Fifth Season of Work*, 1934, esp. pp. 274–275.

⁵ The distance between the chapel and the place where the parchment was discovered is approximately 150 meters.

possibly came from a roll ordered by the founder of the church. If so it was a copy made about the year 222, and though there is, of course, no evidence as to the place where the archetype was, it is hard to prevent the imagination from turning to Edessa.

II

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE TEXT

A photograph and transcription of the text of the fragment are given in columns 1 and 2 of the threefold insertion at the end of this volume; column 3 gives the necessary critical information.

The reconstruction of those parts of the text which are either imperfectly preserved or have disappeared entirely requires but few words of comment, for the subject matter and the vocabulary are so thoroughly familiar that the lacunae can usually be filled without difficulty. The following notes are intended to elucidate the more obscure readings.

l. 1. The *ai* before *γυναῖκες*, in the reading which so drastically changes the statements of the Gospels concerning the women who followed Jesus to Jerusalem, is apparently required by the extent of the space between the *κ* of *καί* and the *α* of *γυναῖκες*, and traces of the letters seem actually to be visible on the parchment. There is not enough room for *ἄλλαι* or *πολλαί*.

l. 2. The beginning of this line might with equal propriety be reconstructed to read [ἐκ τῶ]ν ἀκολουθησάντων. Both reconstructions are discussed below. The words ἀπὸ τῆς are written with ligatures connecting the *ο*, *τ* and *η*.

l. 3. The reading $\overline{\sigma\tau\alpha}$ is certain. Its interpretation is open to question. *Σταυρόν* and *σωτήρα* suggest themselves at once, and a measure of verisimilitude attaches to the former because the abbreviation of Ἰησοῦ(ς) in l. 10 is formed by taking the first letters of the word, instead of the first and last as in $\overline{\theta\nu}$ in l. 13. However, while the abbreviation $\overline{\iota\eta}$ for Ἰησοῦ(ς) is sometimes found, that of $\overline{\sigma\tau\alpha}$ for *σταυρός* in its various forms is not. Indeed in all of the texts examined by L. Traube¹ nothing like it ever appears. This would not be of great weight if it could be shown that the

¹ *Nomina Sacra*, Munich, 1907, see particularly pp. 56–87. On the early appearance of $\overline{\iota\eta}$, for instance in the Epistle of Barnabas, C. 9, see *ibid.*, pp. 4, 115–116.

writer of the fragment invariably used the *initia* of words in abbreviating. But this is not so. From the use of both $\overline{\theta\nu}$ and $\overline{\tau\eta}$ we must conclude that he followed current patterns rather than a fixed principle. In the current abbreviations of $\sigma\tau\alpha\nu\rho\acute{o}s$, listed by Traube, the one common feature is the preservation of the ρ after the initial σ as a significant element. The same thing applies to the abbreviations of $\sigma\omega\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$. But it should be noted that in the text of Mark in the *Codex Bezae* the verb forms $\sigma\tau\alpha\nu\rho\omega\sigma\omicron\nu$ and $\sigma\tau\alpha\nu\rho\omega\theta\eta$ are abbreviated $\overline{\sigma\tau\nu}$ and $\overline{\sigma\tau\eta}$ respectively,¹ which lends weight to the suggestion that the $\overline{\sigma\tau\alpha}$ of the fragment is intended to be the abbreviation of $\sigma\tau\alpha\nu\rho\omega\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\alpha$.²

After $\overline{\sigma\tau\alpha}$ there follows a blank space which indicates the beginning of a new paragraph.

l. 5. What word we are to restore at the end of this line is not certain. After $\epsilon\pi\iota\tau$ - there is room for one wide or two narrow letters; then follows α , then slight traces of another letter; then room for one (or possibly two) more; then σ . In transcription we thus have either $\epsilon\pi\iota\tau[.]a[.] \sigma$, $\epsilon\pi\iota\tau[.]a[.] \sigma$, or $\epsilon\pi\iota\tau[.]a[.] \sigma$. The real problem is what to make of the slight traces of ink following α . The parchment here shows the tips of two heavy strokes, one almost but not entirely horizontal meeting another that is vertical at the top of the line of script, with a third very faint stroke proceeding slightly upward and to the right from the point at which the others meet. If all three belong to one letter, that letter was in all probability π or τ , but we have no word to suggest that would fit this reading and the context at the same time. It is possible, however, that the heavy stroke coming from the left toward the vertical one is the end of the preceding α . In this case the vertical stroke and the one moving to the right are parts of a ρ . There is a similar upward extension of the tail of α before ρ in the $\nu\pi\alpha\rho$ - of l. 7. Interpreting the evidence in this way we can reconstruct $\epsilon\pi\iota\tau[\eta\pi]a\rho[a]\sigma[\kappa\epsilon\nu\eta]$, which would fit the context. In the absence of a better suggestion this reconstruction will be adopted as a basis of discussion. It is not possible to read $\epsilon\pi\iota\eta[\nu\pi]a\rho[a]\sigma[\kappa\epsilon\nu\eta]$, treating $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota$ as a misspelling of $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota$.

¹ Traube, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

² $\Sigma\tau\alpha\nu\rho\omega\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ is a favourite word of Justin Martyr, but there seems to be no instance of δ $\sigma\tau\alpha\nu\rho\omega\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ used as a synonym for Jesus.

The tip of the horizontal stroke following ἐπὶ clearly stands at the top of the line of script.

l. 9. There is not enough room between the ω of Ἰω[σὴφ] and the second α of ἀγαθός for the inclusion of the ἀνὴρ which one might expect at this point. Nor is there any doubt that the two letters which follow ἀγαθός are δι-, the beginning of δίκαιος rather than καί.

l. 10. The extent of the space before ιῆ and the appearance of what is probably the upper tip of a letter at a point 0.2 cm. to the left of ιῆ necessitate the reading [το]υ here as before the abbreviation in l. 13.

Between the end of the ιῆ and the right margin of the text there is a space of approximately 2.5 cm. The upper end of a diagonal stroke emerges from the hole in the parchment to the right of ιῆ. Beyond the stroke there seems to be a trace of the upper part of an α, but this is by no means certain. From the following line it is evident that at least the first two letters of [κεκρυμ]μένος must have stood at the end of l. 10. But these are not sufficient to fill the available space. It is therefore suggested that κα[τακεκρυμ]μένος should be read here. This would imply that Tatian had improved upon the text of John in substituting κατακρύπτω for κρύπτω but the change is in harmony with contemporary developments in the use of the Greek language, and κατακρύπτω appears in Tatian's vocabulary in *Oratio*, iii.1.

l. 12. The upper left corner of the υ of [Ἰουδαίω]υ appears on the parchment between the fissures. The parchment has been spread by the tear that lies to the right of the κ of καί, for the lower left tip of the α which follows can be seen at the left of the gap, immediately after the κ.

l. 13. The β of β[ασιλείαν] is clearly visible in the shred at the lower left corner of the parchment. οὗτος has been adopted in preference to αὐτός because of the absence of traces of long diagonal strokes such as α would probably have left rather than because of the presence of very definite indications of δ.

III

THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE TEXT AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

The identification of the fragment as a portion of Tatian's Diatessaron is by no means difficult. Its subject matter and vocabulary are patently of Gospel origin,¹ yet the text is neither a corrupted form of any one of the canonical Gospels nor an otherwise unknown apocryphal composition, but rather a "harmony" in which Matthew, Mark, Luke and John are systematically combined. Therefore it must be a fragment either of the harmony which Theophilus of Antioch seems to have compiled in preparation for his commentary upon the Gospels,² of a piece of Tatian's Diatessaron, or of some unknown work.³ The importance which Tatian's work had in the area from which the parchment comes and the general coincidence between corresponding sections of the Arabic, Latin and Dutch forms of the Diatessaron and the Dura text make it virtually certain that we have a Greek fragment of Tatian's harmony.

This very striking coincidence in arrangement is presented in the accompanying table, where the relevant passages of the Arabic version in Ciasca's translation,⁴ the Latin of Victor of Capua⁵ and the Dutch of the Liège manuscript⁶ will be

¹ Mrs. Susan Hopkins was the first to recognize the importance of the text of the fragment for Gospel tradition.

² Jerome, *Epist.* CXXI, 6, *Patr. Lat.*, Vol. XXII, col. 1020: Theophilus Antiochenae Ecclesiae septimus post Petrum apostolum episcopus, quatuor evangelistarum in unum opus dicta compingens, ingenii sui nobis monumenta dimisit. Cf. Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur*, Vol. I, 1893, p. 498.

³ The work of Ammonius of Alexandria was probably not a harmony, but rather what, by way of distinction, we call a synopsis.

⁴ *Tatiani Evangeliorum Harmonia Arabice*, Rome, 1888, p. 93.

⁵ *Codex Fuldensis*, ed. E. Ranke, 1868, pp. 156-157.

⁶ De levens van Jezus, ed. J. Bergsma, *Bibliotheek van middelnederlandsche Letterkunde*, Vol. XI, 1904, pp. 206-261. The critical edition of the Dutch text which D. Plooijs is publishing under the title *The Liège Diatessaron* in the *Verhandelingen der koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam* on the basis of the Liège, the Stuttgart and other manuscripts, has not reached the particular passage contained in the Dura fragment.

Stabant autem
omnes notī Iesu a longē¹
et mulieres
quae venerant cum eo
a Galilaea

. . . a longē

et mulieres multae

quae simul cum eo ascenderant

a Galilaea Hierosolymis

Ende alle deghene die sine vrint hadden
ghewest end die sine conde hadden
ende vele vrouwen
die met hem waren comen uten lande
van Galileen tote Jherusalem
stonden van verren
ende sagen toe

quae sequebantur eum

et ministrabant ei

quarum una erat Maria Magda-
lene
et Maria mater Jacobi minoris
et Iusa
et mater filiorum Zebedaei

Inter quas erat Maria Magdalene

et Maria Jacobi minoris et Joseph
mater

Onder die so stont oc Maria Magdalene
ende Maria des mynders Yacobs
moeder ende Josephs

et Salome

ende Salome

mater filiorum Zebedaei

ende de moeder van Zebedeuss kindren

et aliae multae

quae cum eo ascenderant Iero-
solymam

et cum esset in Galilaea sequebantur
eum

dese plagen hem te volghene alse hi was
int lant van Galileen end hem te dinne.

haec videntes.

haec videntes.

+Jn xix 31-37, beginning: Judaei
ergo quoniam Parasceve erat, . . .

+Jn xix 31-37, beginning: Doe quamen
die Yoeden want het op den vridach
was vor den paschen,

. Ζεβεδαιον

και Σαλωμη

και αι γυναikes των

συνακολουθησαντων αυτω
απο της Γαλιλαιας

ορσαι τον σταυρωθεντα.

Εν δε η ημερα παρασκευη
σαββατον επεφωσκει.

Οὐκ αὖτε γενομένης ἐπὶ τῇ οἷον προσεβήσαντο προσηλθὲν ἀνθρώπος	Et cum adventisset vespera parasceve ob ingressum sabbati venit vir nomine Ioseph dives et decurio ab Arimathaea civitate Iudaeae qui erat vir bonus (et) rectus ac discipulus Iesu qui occultabat se timens a Iudaeis non consenserat autem consilio et actibus perditorum et expectabat regnum Dei	Cum sero autem factum esset venit quidam homo dives nobilis decurio ab Arimathia civitate Iudae nomine Ioseph vir bonus et iustus qui et ipse occultus discipulus erat Ihesu propter metum Iudaeorum qui expectabat et ipse regnum Dei Hic non consenserat concilio et actibus eorum	Alst den avonde naekde so quam en rike man ende en edel die tine riddren hadde die was van eere stat uten yodschen lande dit hit Armattia ende die man was genamt Joseph(s) ende en goet man was ende en gherecht ende Jhesus yongre was al verholenles om de vreesse van den Yoeden ende hakeude was na dat rike Gods noch en consenteerde nit mettin Yoeden met rade noch met dade
--	---	---	---

¹ stabant a longe cognati Iesu, Ephraim cod. A; 'servants' instead of 'cognati' cod. B. Cf. Moesinger *op. cit.* p. 258, and J. Hamlyn *Hill The Earliest Life of Christ*, p. 258.

found in parallel columns with the Dura text. Direct quotations from the corresponding portions of the earlier Syriac text are unfortunately all but lacking.¹ Since it is but a translation of the Latin, the Old High German version is not of sufficient importance to merit special consideration.

¹ Ephraem's Commentary on the Diatessaron, preserved in the Armenian, guarantees only the words: Joseph justus . . . in consilio . . . non consenserat. Cf. Moesinger, *Evangelii concordantis expositio*, Venice, 1876, p. 266.

IV

THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGE OF THE DIATESSARON

Since the discovery of the Old Syriac Gospels the question of the original language of Tatian's harmony has provoked not a little discussion, and two different answers, Syriac and Greek, have been given. The majority was clearly on the side of the Syriac during the earlier years of the controversy.¹ Only since the turn of the century has a genuine tendency to favor the Greek become apparent.² Even today, however, there is no consensus of opinion on the issue. The fact that the Syriac text could claim the earliest attestation, being quoted by Aphraates and Ephraem, has in the past provided a natural advantage

¹ T. Zahn, Tatian's Diatessaron, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des ntl. Kanons*, Vol. I, 1881, pp. 18-44; F. Baethgen, *Evangelienfragmente*, 1885, pp. 58-91; J. M. Fuller, art. Tatian, *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, Vol. IV, 1887, pp. 800-801; R. Duval, *La Littérature Syriacque*, 1889, p. 45; J. Rendel Harris, The New Syriac Gospels, *Contemporary Review*, Vol. LXVI, 1894, pp. 670-671 and *The Diatessaron of Tatian*, 1895; J. A. Bewer, *The History of the New Testament Canon in the Syrian Church*, 1900, p. 19; A. Hjelt, Die altsyrische Evangelienübersetzung, *Forschungen etc.*, Vol. VII, 1903, p. 22 ff.; O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Litteratur*, Vol. I², 1913, pp. 280-281; H. Leclercq, art. Diatessaron, *Cabrol-Leclercq, Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne*, Vol. IV, 1920, col. 758-760; D. Plooi, *A Primitive Text of the Diatessaron*, 1923, pp. 76-79.

² In the period between the discovery of the Old Syriac Gospels and the end of the nineteenth century Harnack stood almost alone in his defence of a Greek original. For his earliest utterance on the subject see his article, Tatians Diatessaron u. Marcions Commentar zum Evangelium bei Ephraem Syrus, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Vol. IV, 1881, pp. 494-495. With this compare his *Chronologie der altchristlichen Litteratur*, Vol. I, 1897, p. 289. Since 1900 an increasing number of scholars has come to favor his position. See particularly F. C. Burkitt, *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, Vol. II, 1904, p. 206; H. von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, Vol. I, 2, 1907, pp. 1536-1537; H. J. Vogels, Die Harmonistik von Evangelientext des Codex Cantabrigiensis, *Texte und Untersuchungen*, Vol. XXXVI (1), 1911, pp. 45-46; E. Preuschen, Untersuchungen zum Diatessaron Tatians, *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*, phil.-hist. Klasse, Vol. IX, 1918, p. 44 ff.; M. J. Lagrange, L'ancienne Version Syriacque des Evangiles, *Revue Biblique*, Vol. XXIX, 1920, p. 326; A. Jülicher, Der echte Tatiantext, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XLIII, 1924, pp. 166-167; A. Pott, in Preuschen-Pott, *Tatians Diatessaron aus dem arabischen übersetzt*, 1926, pp. 23-35.

to the hypothesis of a Syriac original, and various arguments have been adduced in its favor.

One is that linguistic and cultural conditions in Mesopotamia required the use of the vernacular, the authority which the Diatessaron held there from the outset being taken as proof of its adaptation to local needs.

A second is that even those of the Greek and Latin Fathers who, like Eusebius and Epiphanius, had heard of its existence remained unfamiliar with the nature of the harmony, the strange idiom supposedly acting as a barrier to their further acquaintance with the book.

A third is Tatian's supposed dependence upon the Old Syriac Gospels.

To these general arguments have been added others derived from the Diatessaron's rendering of specific passages of the Gospels, such as the utterances about the "staff" in Mt. x. 10 and Mk. vi. 8, or the description of the "Syrophoenician" woman in Mk. vii. 26. Taken together these observations have led some to conclude that no Greek text of the harmony ever existed, or that, if it did, it played no part in determining the available textual tradition, whether Arabic, Latin or Dutch.

The existence of the Dura fragment proves the existence of a Greek text. Moreover, by giving it an extremely early attestation, it provides the Greek with an even earlier claim to originality than Aphraates' quotations formerly gave to the Syriac. Yet the point is one which it would be unwise to press because the Syriac Diatessaron, though not extant, even if it be not Tatian's original work, may easily have been as old as the Dura fragment of the Greek.¹

Much more important for the whole question at issue is the insight which the excavations at Dura have given us into the

¹ It is to be expected that the publication of the Coptic Manichaean documents recently discovered will provide a new source for our knowledge of the Diatessaron, for Mani apparently knew the Gospels as one book. Cf. Schmidt and Polotzky, *Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten*, in the *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1933, I, pp. 57-59. If Mani composed his works in Syriac, as seems probable, his Gospel quotations may well have been taken from the Syriac Diatessaron, and should furnish a witness to the Syriac text only slightly later than that which the Dura fragment gives to the Greek.

conditions obtaining in the larger Mesopotamian cities in the early centuries of our era. Two facts stand out in this connection. The first is the complexity of the culture-patterns which governed life where Semites, Parthians, Greeks, and Romans mingled. The second is the unquestionable importance attaching to Greek as the vehicle of intercourse between representatives of so many nationalities. No better proof of this fact can be found than that provided by the great number of the Dura graffiti, which are predominantly Greek even though the proper names that dot them are very often nothing more than weird transcriptions of Aramaic.¹ If this condition of affairs could exist in a city founded by the Parthians and located on the highroad between Babylonia in the south and Palmyra and Edessa in the north, it is probably typical of the greater part of city life in Mesopotamia during the early Christian centuries. This means that from the beginning there existed a practical need for a Greek Diatessaron if Christianity was to spread in the cities of the Mesopotamian lowlands. To this the Dura fragment testifies, and of this a native like Tatian can scarcely have been unaware. It would therefore seem to follow that even if he did not originally compose his harmony in Greek, he would have translated it into Greek almost at once, and so have issued it in Syriac and Greek from the outset.

Anyone willing to make this admission will find it difficult to stop here, for it clearly removes all ground for the original use of the Syriac. It is much more natural to suppose that since conditions in Mesopotamian cities made a Greek Diatessaron useful from the beginning, Tatian, coming from a prolonged sojourn in the Greek world, and from a period in which he had probably written Greek almost exclusively, would address himself to the by no means simple task of compiling a harmony by using the Greek language and the available Greek sources, and would leave the translation of his work into Syriac to a subsequent stage of the undertaking. The logic of the situation, as seen in the light of the evidence now made available, seems to demand that the Diatessaron was originally

¹ To obtain a general insight into the conditions obtaining at Dura it is necessary to study with some care all of the *Preliminary Reports* hitherto published.

composed in Greek, even if its composition falls into the period after Tatian's return to Mesopotamia.

To escape from this conclusion it would be necessary to prove that the Greek of the Dura fragment is a translation from the Syriac. The particular points where one might most naturally expect to find evidence of translation are those at which the text of the parchment differs either from the Greek of the separate Gospels, or from what one may on critical grounds regard as the true text of Tatian's autograph, or from both. The discussion of the specific instances of such divergence belongs properly to another context. All that can be said here is that though the test of possible mistranslation has consistently been applied, it has not proven itself of superior value in accounting for the divergences in question, and has thus left the hypothesis of a Syriac original without tangible support.

Nevertheless, in any such matter as this it would be unwise to consider only divergences from archetype and sources. In by far the largest proportion of its words and constructions the Dura fragment appears to agree not only with the best critical Diatessaron text one can construct, but also with the separate Gospels. Now it is quite probable that a translator turning a Syriac Diatessaron into Greek would attempt to follow the wording of the Greek Gospels so far as possible. But in the fragment before us the agreement with the Greek of the Gospels is so exact, both in vocabulary and constructions, as to imply a word for word comparison between the harmony and all its sources, a specific decision concerning the particular source of each phrase and clause, a painstaking combination of the words and constructions selected in the process, and a minimum of editorial emendation. All this is indispensable to the production of such a text as we have in the Dura fragment on the hypothesis that it translates a Syriac original, and manifestly is far too much to refer to a translator, for it falls little short of the task which Tatian himself performed. Therefore, with the Dura parchment in hand it seems hard to escape the conclusion that Greek was actually the language of the original harmony. But the merits of the fragment as a witness to the content of that original is another matter.

V

THE TEXT OF THE DIATESSARON

If Tatian composed his Diatessaron about 172 A.D., as most scholars assume, the Dura fragment cannot be more than 80 years removed from the autograph. This proximity in time and the fact that the text of the roll was evidently written by a practiced copyist give it no small degree of authority. Yet it would be erroneous to canonize its readings, for in matters of text the age of a witness is only one of many criteria, and 80 years are not too short a time to allow corruptions to creep into a line of textual tradition, particularly when, as we must in this case suppose, new copies were being produced at a rapid rate. The real test of the textual significance of the Dura fragment lies, therefore, in a comparison of its readings with those of other witnesses to the text of the Diatessaron.

The extant witnesses to the Diatessaron are the Arabic of Abulfaradj Abdallah ibn at-Tajjib (Saec. xi), the Latin of Victor of Capua (Saec. vi), the Liège MS of the mediaeval Dutch harmonies (Saec. xiii), and the quotations of the Syrian Church Fathers, especially Aphraates and Ephraem. In the particular section with which we are dealing quotations from the Syriac Fathers are unfortunately all but lacking. This limits the adequacy of the conclusions to be drawn here; for the Syriac was undoubtedly the oldest and the best of the versions and if directly attested at this point would furnish the most acceptable criterion of the value of the Dura text. Limited as we are to a comparison with the Arabic, the Latin and the Dutch, our immediate task is twofold, — to examine the readings of the Dura fragment in the light of these versions, and conversely to test the versions in the light of the Dura parchment. But, as a preliminary it is desirable to note the peculiarities of the extant versions in the light of the new evidence.

The Arabic. It has frequently been pointed out that the Arabic version preserves the Syriac Diatessaron in a form

already corrected in accordance with the text of the Peshitto.¹ The Greek fragment confirms in a variety of ways the conclusion drawn from Ephraem's commentary that such correction had been made.

(i) The comparative table given above shows that the Arabic version places the clause: *non consenserat autem consilio et actibus perditorum* (Ar. *at-tellābīna*) before the words: *et expectabat regnum Dei*. This is contrary to the Greek fragment, the Latin and the Dutch, and can scarcely represent the order of the original Diatessaron. Nor is it the order of the Old Syriac Gospels. But it is the order of the text of Luke in Greek and in the Peshitto. The change embodied in the Arabic at this point is doubtless in agreement with the best Gospel text; but the question is whether the influence of this text was exerted directly by the Greek manuscripts of Luke or indirectly by the Peshitto. Since the change was apparently effected within the area of Syriac influence, correction through the Peshitto seems more probable.

(ii) In its description of Joseph of Arimathaea the Arabic, like the Dutch, places the words *bonus et rectus* in a separate clause: *qui erat vir bonus et rectus*. In view of the fact that in the Greek the words stand so far removed from the noun which they qualify this is a thoroughly natural development, as its reappearance in the Dutch would seem to indicate. Textual support for the change is therefore scarcely necessary, particularly in a version composed in a Semitic idiom. Yet the Peshitto does use the copula in connection with these words, while the Old Syriac and the Greek Luke do not.

(iii) In rendering *πόλις* (l. 8) by *medina*, the Arabic is closer to the ܡܕܢܝܐ of the Peshitto than to the ܡܕܢܝܐ of the Old Syriac Gospels.

In the last two instances the argument for dependence upon the Peshitto is plausible, but not absolutely cogent. The Syriac translator of the Diatessaron was naturally free to choose his own expressions, and we have at present no way of determining either how he phrased his translation or what changes were made in it before the Peshitto existed.

¹ So e.g., Burkitt, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 200.

The Latin. As long ago as 1881 Zahn indicated that in the Codex Fuldensis we have a poorly planned and poorly executed revision of the Diatessaron in the language of the Vulgate.¹ Coincidence with the Vulgate is evident in the whole of the passage under discussion, and at least one point illustrates the revision made in the structure of the harmony. This is the insertion of the long section Jn. xix. 31-37 into the midst of the passage which the Greek fragment preserves. That we are actually dealing with an insertion is evident not only from the fact that the passage is not found at this point either in the Greek or in the Arabic, but also from its awkwardness in the Latin context. Placed where Victor of Capua preserves it, it tends to separate the first mention of the Marys and the other women too far from their subsequent reappearance as witnesses to the place of Jesus' burial. Placed where the Arabic and, we may assume, the Greek have it, it becomes part of a carefully constructed narrative in which the harmonist, beginning with those immediately under the Cross, goes on to speak of those who stood "at a distance," and having introduced the latter as witnesses of the crucifixion continues with their testimony to the burial. We therefore conclude that the Greek preserves the original order. The reason for the change in the Latin is discussed below (p. 32).

Comparison of the Latin with the Greek and the Arabic indicates another of its peculiarities. It will be seen from the comparative table that while the Greek and Arabic regard Salome and the Mother of the sons of Zebedee as two distinct persons, the Latin identifies them. Now it is scarcely to be doubted that that form of text (Greek and Arabic) which distinguishes the one from the other is more primitive at this point than that which identifies them. The identification is the result of further reflection upon the two parallel passages Mk. xv. 40 and Mt. xxvii. 56.² Salome was otherwise completely unknown to Tatian, who therefore introduces the Mother of the sons of

¹ *Forschungen*, Vol. I, 1881, pp. 293-310, esp. pp. 308-309.

² Origen makes this identification in his *Commentary on Matthew*. Cf. Migne, P. G., Vol. XIII, col. 1796. Zahn's contention that it was already known to the writer of the *Gospel according to the Egyptians* (cf. his *Geschichte des ntl. Kanons*, Vol. II, 1890, p. 634) is without foundation in actual fact, for in the passage which

Zebedee with the other more clearly identified figures, and before Salome, thus interrupting the order of the Markan list. This the Greek and the Arabic clearly indicate. The Latin, however, not only makes the identification, but in this connection finds it necessary to change the order of Tatian's words, placing *mater filiorum Zebedaei* after *Salome* where, as an "appositional modifier," this element of the sentence now has to stand. This order, secondary to that of the Greek and Arabic on internal evidence, the Dutch also presupposes, even though it does not identify the two women. The Latin, then, since it identifies Salome and the Mother of the sons of Zebedee shows the influence of contemporary exegetical tradition.

The Dutch. The Dutch version, which Professor D. Plooij has made the subject of special study, is interpreted by him as a translation of an Old Latin Diatessaron which in turn rendered the (original) Syriac. It would be more than presumptuous to criticize this position on the basis of the one short section here under discussion.¹ Yet the passage with which we are dealing illustrates two noticeable peculiarities of the Liège text.

The first is a general coincidence with the Latin as illustrated in the introduction of the section Jn. xix. 31-37 into the context of the Greek fragment, and in the adoption of the order which places the Mother of the sons of Zebedee after Salome. That it fails to identify the two women is to be regarded not as a token of its fidelity to the autograph (witness the change in order), but rather as the result of its dependence upon a more advanced exegetical tradition that doubts the validity of such easy identifications.

The second peculiarity is the introduction of epexegetical elements into the text, such as that contained in the words *die sine conde hadden ghehat*, which lacks all foundation in the Gospels and in the earlier Diatessaron tradition, and the literal interpretation of the Latin *decurio* which is quite foreign to the sense of the Greek.

Clement of Alexandria cites (*Strom.* III 66) Salome says: *καλῶς οὖν ἐποίησα μὴ τεκοῦσα*, not *καλῶς οὖν ἂν ἐποίησα κτλ.*

¹ The reader may refer to Jülicher's article, *Der echte Tatiantext*, *JBL*, Vol. XLIII, 1924, pp. 132-171.

The Greek. With the general character and the particular shortcomings of each of the later versions in mind, it is now possible to discuss the Greek text as seen in the light of the remainder of the Diatessaron tradition. The reading *Ζεβεδαίου καὶ Σαλώμῃ* has already been treated, and the text of the Greek and the Arabic shown to be more primitive at this point because it does not identify the two women and places the least well-known last in the list. It is therefore possible to proceed at once to the passage *καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες τῶν συνακολουθησάντων αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ὁρῶσαι τὸν σῶτα*.

In discussing this reading we must consider separately the use of Lk. xxiii. 49b at this precise place, and the transformation which the Lukan verse has undergone in the Dura text. Naturally the words must be viewed in the light of their context, beginning with the *Stabant autem omnes noti Iesu a longe* of the Arabic.

How widely the various versions of the Diatessaron differ in rendering the passage under consideration and the section to which it belongs, the comparative table given above clearly demonstrates. Yet if we analyse the versions with a view to their use of the canonical Gospels, omitting for the moment such complicating factors as the common introduction of the Mother of the sons of Zebedee from Mt. xxvii. 56 and such unimportant variations as the interchange of *Iesu* and *eius* or the introduction of the words *die sine conde hadden ghehat*, it seems possible to obtain a clue to the origin of the differences between them and to the order of the material in Tatian's autograph. The following table shows the disposition of the source material in the section under discussion.

<i>Greek</i>	<i>Arabic</i>	<i>Latin</i>	<i>Dutch</i>
(Lk. xxiii 49a)	Lk. xxiii 49a	Lk. xxiii 49a	Lk. xxiii 49a
(Mk. xv 41b?)	Lk. xxiii 49b	Mk. xv 41b	Mk. xv 41b
		Lk. xxiii 49b	Lk. xxiii 49b
			Lk. xxiii 49a-c
	Mk. xv 41a		
Mk. xv 40b	Mk xv 40b	Mk. xv 40b	Mk. xv 40b
Lk. xxiii 49b	Mk. xv 41b		
		Mk. xv 41a	Mk. xv 41a
Lk. xxiii 49c	Lk. xv 49c	Lk. xxiii 49c	

Three conclusions can be drawn from this table. First, in the autograph the section began with Lk. xxiii. 49a; second, at some point further on there followed the list of proper names taken from Mk. xv. 40b; third, this list was preceded and followed by general statements about "the women." Now the sources at Tatian's disposal provided him with three statements to use in this connection about "the women": — Lk. xxiii. 49b, Mk. xv. 41a, and Mk. xv. 41b. The Arabic places Lk. xxiii. 49b before and Mk. xv. 41b after the list, adding to Lk. xxiii. 49b a part of Mk. xv. 41a. The Latin and the Dutch are basically agreed in putting Mk. xv. 41b first, adding to this the words *ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας* from Lk. xxiii. 49b, and substituting Mk. xv. 41a for Mk. xv. 41b after the list. But the Dura fragment, which begins in the midst of the list, puts Lk. xxiii. 49b after the proper names. This would seem to imply that in its text Mk. xv. 41b stood before them.¹

Why the various statements about "the women" should change their relative positions so readily is not difficult to understand when the similarity between the verses used is kept in mind. The principle in accordance with which the change of relative position was made is less evident. We submit that in the transcription of a text which combines the contents of documents thoroughly familiar of and by themselves, the most frequent source of error would be the tendency of these several documents to reassert in the copyist's mind their individuality and the continuity of their statements. On this principle a copyist transcribing a section of the Diatessaron beginning with Lk. xxiii, 49a would be more inclined to move up Lk. xxiii. 49b from a context later than Mk. xv. 41b, rather than to move it down. As between the Greek and the Arabic we should therefore have to say that the former is the more primitive in its allocation of Lk. xxiii. 49b. The tendency revealed in the reallocation of Lk. xxiii. 49b in the Arabic is further illustrated by the Latin and the Dutch when they conflate the two forms of

¹ Strictly speaking the list of names in the Dura text may have been preceded by Mk. xv. 41b, by Mk. xv. 41a, or by both. Of these three possibilities it seems proper to favor the first, by reason of the support which a text so reconstructed finds in both the Latin and the Dutch. The place of Mk. xv. 41a in the section is discussed below.

text represented by the Greek and the Arabic respectively, and still further by the Dutch when it insists on bringing up Lk. xxiii. 49c from the end of the section and joining it to the rest of the material taken from Luke. It would seem to follow then that in the autograph of Tatian the elements hitherto considered were disposed in the order Lk. xxiii. 49a; Mk. xv. 41b; Mk. xv. 40b; Lk. xxiii. 49b; Lk. xxiii. 49c.

In an earlier section of this discussion we showed that Tatian had three statements about "the women" at his disposal in constructing the passage before us. We have given place to two of them in the original text. What then shall we say of the third, Mk. xv. 41a? The evidence for its use is excellent, for it is found in all three versions, but its place in the sequence of the material is uncertain. The Arabic introduces it before the list of proper names, attaching it to Lk. xxiii. 49b in which Galilee is mentioned; the Latin and the Dutch assign it to the position occupied by Lk. xxiii. 49b in the Greek. If Mk. xv. 41a had a place in the text of this section as constructed by Tatian, it can have stood in only one of the two positions assigned to it by the versions. Which of the two is the more primitive? Viewing the Latin and the Dutch in the light of the Greek, it is possible to assume that they have given Mk. xv. 41a a place after the list of proper names in order to fill a gap left by the removal of Lk. xxiii. 49b and its conflation with Mk. xv. 41b. We should therefore be inclined to suppose that the position assigned to Mk. xv. 41a by the Arabic is the more primitive.¹ The question now is whether in this position the verse can be regarded as a part of the autograph?

The Arabic, it will be recalled, places Mk. xv. 41a between Lk. xxiii. 49b and the list of proper names from Mk. xv. 40b. It would be difficult to deny that Tatian could not have arranged the material in this way himself, yet it would be still more difficult to contend that he did, because of the repetition of both ἀκολουθῶ and Γαλιλαία which such an arrangement

¹ The alternative is that both Lk. xxiii. 49b and Mk. xv. 41a followed the list of names in the archetype, and that the Arabic transferred both to a point before the list, while the Latin and the Dutch transferred only Lk. xxiii. 49b. This is made quite unlikely by the absence of Mk. xv. 41a from this position in the Dura fragment and the repetition which the juxtaposition of these two verses involves.

would involve. Since we have assumed that in the Greek Mk. xv. 41b stood where the Arabic has Lk. xxiii. 49b, the order Lk. xxiii. 49a, Mk. xv. 41b, Mk. xv. 41a, Mk. xv. 40b has greater probability. Thus placed Mk. xv. 41a is entirely possible as a part of Tatian's autograph, and should be so regarded. The only objection is that of the three statements available to Tatian two are correlatives, as anyone comparing them would naturally see at a glance. Since in his disposition of the material available for the construction of this section he actually needed but two of the three statements before him, it would seem rather peculiar that Tatian should have overlooked the possibility of saying all that his sources said without repetition, by omitting one or the other of the three passages in question. The Latin and the Dutch have actually moved in this direction by combining Lk. xxiii. 49b and Mk. xv. 41b. But this combination rests upon a superficial interpretation of the word *συνακολουθέω* in Lk. xxiii. 49b, the sense of which is to live or act as a disciple and not merely to follow from place to place.¹ The real correlatives are therefore Lk. xxiii. 49b and Mk. xv. 41a, not Mk. xv. 41b. From his *Oratio*, vii. 3 we know that Tatian was familiar with the pregnant sense of *συνακολουθεω*.² This being so it was entirely possible for him to omit Mk. xv. 41a from his harmony without loss, provided he used Lk. xxiii. 49b, and by so doing to avoid repetition. This, we are inclined to suppose, was what actually happened. The entrance of Mk. xv. 41a into the versions may then owe its origin to a superficial interpretation of Tatian's and Luke's *συνακολουθέω*, which made it seem that the important detail of the devotion and ministration of the women expressed in Mark's *διηκονέω* had been omitted in the harmony.

If we have correctly interpreted the section of Tatian's harmony in the midst of which the Dura fragment begins, its author

¹ On the New Testament use of *ἀκολουθέω* in this sense see Kittel, *Theologisches Wörterbuch*, Vol. I, 1933, p. 212 f. I am inclined to agree with Bauer (*Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*, 1928) that in the passage under discussion *συνακολουθέω* shares this technical meaning. Only if Luke used the word in this sense could he afford to reduce the two statements of his Markan source to one.

² The word is here applied to those who have given themselves over to the service of Satan.

has taken Lk. xxiii. 49 as a framework and introduced into it, after Lk. xxiii. 49a, those portions of Mark xv. 41b, xv. 40b and Matthew xxvii. 56c which served to give specific content to its general statements, closing the whole section with the second and third elements of Lk. xxiii. 49, — 49b and c. From the structural point of view this is an excellent method and quite in line with what we might expect from Tatian. The versions show us a carefully constructed work disintegrating in a very natural way at the hands of transcribers and translators who knew the Gospels primarily as separate documents, and were less skilled in their interpretation of the sense of these Gospels. It would seem to follow, then, that in so far as it concludes the section under discussion with what is basically a form of Lk. xxiii. 49b and c, the Dura fragment is a better witness to Tatian's autograph than the extant versions. When the Dura text was written the process leading to the structural disintegration of the work had not yet begun.

If in the original text of Tatian's harmony the equivalent of Lk. xxiii. 49b-c may be said to have stood at the end of the section dealing with the women who witnessed the crucifixion, what shall be said of the actual wording which Tatian gave to this verse? The versions, so far as they furnish precise evidence, imply that Tatian followed Luke rather closely. The text they seem to represent is *καὶ γυναῖκες (πολλαί) αἱ συνακολουθοῦσαι αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ὁρῶσαι ταῦτα*. But this proves nothing, for the clearest part in the whole problem is that both the Latin and the Arabic have been conformed textually to their respective Vulgates. The real question is whether the readings of the Greek are themselves inherently probable or not.

The words *τὸν σ̄τα*, which the parchment puts in the place of Luke's *ταῦτα*, can be dismissed briefly. To regard the reading as a corruption caused by the mistranslation of an hypothetical Syriac autograph is quite impossible, for ܫܬܐ and ܬܐܬܐ are too dissimilar in form. An error in the transcription of the Greek is just possible, for an original *ταυτα* might have produced *ταστα* or *τοντα*, and either of these could conceivably have been corrected to read *τον σ̄τα*. Inherently, however, the change from *τὸν σ̄τα* to *ταῦτα* is much more probable than that from

ταῦτα το τὸν $\overline{\sigma\tau\alpha}$. Moreover, Tatian may well have felt it desirable for his immediate purpose to use a more colorful expression in this context than that which Luke, writing with a different object, had employed. No one can deny the superiority of "beholding The Crucified" over "beholding these things" at the end of an important episode in the Passion narrative, especially in a work intended for devotional and liturgical use. It would be difficult, under these circumstances, to deny that the Dura text has a better claim to authenticity at this point than have the versions of the Diatessaron.

The remainder of Lk. xxiii. 49 as rendered in the Dura text requires more extensive discussion. There are two possible reconstructions to be considered: — *αἱ γυναῖκες ἐκ τῶν ἀκολουθησάντων αὐτῷ κτλ.*, and *αἱ γυναῖκες τῶν συνακολουθησάντων αὐτῷ*. The difference between them is primarily a difference of sense, for if Tatian actually wrote the second, he doubtless intended it to mean: "the wives of those who had been his disciples since Galilee."

From the point of view of sense the first of the two reconstructions is seemingly the easier. It is not so distant from the meaning of Tatian's Lukan source, and is close enough to the sense of the versions to provide at least a possible basis for their readings, due allowance being made for the difference of idiom and for the influence of the separate Gospels upon the text. But there are two objections against it; — first, Tatian's departure from Luke's *συνακολουθέω*; and second, the fact that the women mentioned by name in the context were also "of Jesus' Galilean disciples," in the wider sense of the term, and scarcely deserved being set apart from them.

The second reconstruction introduces an unexpected element into the narrative. That the women not otherwise mentioned by name, who had come to Jerusalem with Jesus, were actually wives of disciples is an excellent conjecture and one that makes thoroughly good sense. Since Tatian is known to have changed the sense of statements found in the Gospels in accordance with his own interpretation of them,¹ the possibility that in this reconstruction we have a correct rendering of the original

¹ See Preuschen, *Untersuchungen*, p. 43.

Diatessaron cannot be denied. The versions have then turned back to the text of Luke in fear of Tatian's interpretation. But here again there is one objection, namely that, if the anti-heretical Fathers may be trusted, Tatian was an Encratite and thus probably looked upon marriage with disfavor. His Encratism would, indeed, not have compelled him to deny that some of the original disciples were married. That was a part of the record. Yet one may well question whether he would have introduced the wives of the disciples into contexts in which they did not appear in the Gospels, though it is true that the presence of unmarried women among the followers of Jesus might have shocked a semi-oriental even more.

Since the inherent character of the reconstructions suggested gives neither of them undeniable claim to authority, the possibility that the text of the parchment is corrupt at this point must be considered. The hypothesis that the Greek is a translation of the Syriac, and certain of its readings conceivably the results of mistranslation, should first claim attention.

Of the two reconstructions offered, *αἱ γυναῖκες τῶν συνακολουθησάντων αὐτῷ* alone affords an opportunity to test the value of the translation hypothesis. To construct a form of Syriac text sufficiently ambiguous to have produced both this reading and that supported by the versions is by no means difficult. It is tempting in this connection to play with ܐܠܗܐ, which can have a number of meanings, all depending on how the verb form is vocalized, and whether *daleth* is taken as a relative pronoun or as the sign of a construct relationship. The difficulty with constructions produced *ad hoc* for purposes such as these is that their very ambiguity makes them thoroughly improbable as the work of an author composing in a familiar idiom. As a matter of fact both the Old Syriac Gospels and the Peshitto render Lk. xxiii. 49 in a completely unambiguous way. Moreover, anyone really wishing to say "the wives of those who had come with him" would no doubt have written ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܬܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܝܬܐ or something equally clear in meaning. In all probability, then, the hypothetical translator would actually have to misread his Syriac in order to arrive at the text of the Dura parchment at this point. Thus the hypothesis

of mistranslation offers no advantage over that of corruption within the textual tradition of the Greek itself.

To divine what process of corruption within the Greek might have produced the parchment's rendering of Lk. xxiii. 49b is an equally speculative, if not utterly hopeless, undertaking. Perhaps the simplest conjecture would be that Tatian had originally used the *γυναῖκες* of Lk. xxiii. 49b in an earlier part of the paragraph about the women, substituting Mark's *ἄλλαι πολλαί* for it,¹ and that the Dura text had restored the *γυναῖκες* to its Lukan context in accordance with the principle stated above.²

The difficulty with this and similar conjectures is that they cannot cope with the gender and case of the participle (*συν*)*ακολουθησάντων*. However we construe it, this form occurs in our fragment not because of some copyist's error, but because someone has seen fit to interpret for himself the sense of Lk. xxiii. 49b. Once this fact has been recognized it becomes evident that of the two reconstructions offered above, the second alone deserves consideration as the reading of the Dura text. In the first reconstruction the only purpose which the departure from Luke's *συνακολουθοῦσαι* could serve would be to guard against the misconception that Jesus' followers were exclusively women. This is manifestly insufficient to justify the change. But if we adopt the second reconstruction with its drastic change in the sense of Luke, we must also admit that the authority of the separate Gospels in the later period makes it extremely difficult to ascribe the change to any other than Tatian himself.

The words *ὁρῶσαι τον σ̄τα* mark the end of a section or paragraph in the roll of which our parchment was a part. This break the versions of the Diatessaron either lack entirely or obscure.³ That the Dura parchment is nearer to the autograph in this particular will hardly require further proof, for with the

¹ Something more definite than Mark's *ἄλλαι πολλαί* may well have been needed to lead over from the *γνωστοί* of Lk. xxiii. 49a to the *αἱ συναβᾶσαι* of Mk. xv. 41b.

² Cf. above, p. 27.

³ Neither the Latin nor the Dutch (if Bergsma's edition of the Liège and Stuttgart manuscripts can be trusted) make a stop here. The Arabic shows a clear sense-division, but does not seem to mark it outwardly.

end of the story about the women witnesses we come to the close of one episode in the Passion narrative and begin another. Incidentally, the division marked in our fragment is also found in the Ammonian Sections. We have here, then, a further indication of the antiquity of this system.¹

The Dura text opens the section on Joseph of Arimathaea with an introductory statement of chronological import taken almost word for word from Luke xxiii. 54. In Luke's own account the chronological statement concludes the narrative. If we are to accept the text of the parchment as authoritative, we must assume that Tatian has transferred the verse to an earlier context in order to set the stage more effectively for the events recorded in the story. His point of view in so doing would be similar to that of Mark, from whom Luke had originally departed. But the question is whether Lk. xxiii. 54 deserves a place in Tatian's autograph, for it is not found in any of the versions and is actually followed in the Dura fragment by its Markan source and counterpart (Mk. xv. 42) improved in accordance with Mt. xxvii. 57.

In attempting to answer the question raised we must begin by concerning ourselves with Tatian's use of Mk. xv. 42. The Latin and the Dutch imply that the harmony restricted itself to the use of the opening genitive absolute, *ὁψίας γενομένης*, common to Matthew and Mark. In this they are doubtless wrong, for the Greek and the Arabic agree in showing that all of the remainder of Mk. xv. 42 was incorporated. The Greek text follows the latter portion of Mk. xv. 42 implicitly, save in one particular, when it substitutes *ἐπὶ τῇ παρασκευῇ* for *ἐπεὶ ἦν παρασκευή*. This reading the Arabic may support, for it construes the word which represents "Friday" with *vespera*, not with *venit*. If the Arabic and the Greek together make it probable that Tatian used virtually all of Mk. xv. 42, the same two witnesses make it probable that the substitution described had a place in his autograph. But why the change? We submit

¹ It should be noted in passing that neither in the space marking the break in our Dura text, nor at any other point within its body, is there any trace of a system of symbols showing the sources used, such as Plooiij has been tempted to infer from the manuscripts of the versions. See *A Primitive Text*, pp. 12-13.

that it owes its origin to the juxtaposition of Lk. xxiii. 54 and Mk. xv. 42. This juxtaposition involves the danger of repetition, especially in the two statements, ἦν δὲ ἡ ἡμέρα παρασκευή and ἐπεὶ ἦν παρασκευή. By reducing the second to a prepositional phrase, Tatian makes it refer back to the previous sentence, and thereby not only avoids the repetition of all but individual words, but also effectively ties the two verses together. If this be the correct explanation of the change Lk. xxiii. 54 must have stood in the autograph of the harmony. We should then have to assume that the versions have omitted it from their text. In the case of the Latin and the Dutch we have two indications that such may actually have been the case. The first is the reduction of Mk. xv. 42 to a mere temporal clause, the second the introduction of Jn. xix. 31-37 into this context. These peculiarities of the western versions are apparently interrelated. When Jn. xix. 31-37 with its explicit chronological statement is made to follow the story of the women at the Cross, a similarly explicit reference to the imminence of the sabbath is no longer necessary at the beginning of the Joseph episode. Hence the severe compression of Mk. xv. 42. But the transfer of Jn. xix. 31-37 to this context itself requires explanation. May it not have been occasioned by the similarity between the chronological statement with which it opens and that contained in Lk. xxiii. 54? If so Jn. xix. 31 can be said to have replaced Lk. xxiii. 54 in the context. Even the Arabic may possibly show signs of foreshortening here, for its *ob ingressum sabbati* seems to be more than a mere translation or even a mistranslation of Mark's ὁ ἐστὶν προσάββατον. Rather it looks like a combination of Mk. xv. 42c and Lk. xxiii. 54b.¹ The versions, we therefore conclude, are not in a position to oppose the Dura text effectively when it opens the section on Joseph of Arimathaea with Lk. xxiii. 54 and Mk. xv. 42 in that order.

From προσῆλθεν ἄνθρωπος to the end of the fragment the Dura text follows the wording of the Gospels so closely and

¹ Mark's ὁ ἐστὶν προσάββατον naturally reduces itself to the clause "which is before the sabbath" in Syriac, thereby losing its significance in the eyes of an Arabic translator who is forced to render παρασκευή by "Friday" or "Day of Assembly," and thus inviting combination with Lk. xxiii. 54b.

stands in such real accord with the versions of the Diatessaron that there is every reason to regard it as being in fundamental agreement with Tatian's autograph. This agreement over by far the greatest portion of the text should effectively discourage any attempt to belittle the value of the fragment by reason of the deviations possibly contained in the first few lines. Further comment here is required only for a very few trifling divergences in the order, use and orthography of words.

The order of the elements *προσεδέχeto τὴν βασιλείαν* and *οὐκ ἦν συνκατατεθέμενος* has been already considered above.¹ There is no question but that the Greek preserves the original sequence. The Arabic, which has changed the order in this particular, is probably also at fault in the reallocation of *ὄνομα Ἰωσήφ*. This rearrangement is opposed by the Greek, the Latin and the Dutch, and can readily be explained as the result of a natural tendency to continue from "there came a man"² with the words "named Joseph." This is the way Luke (xxiii. 50) phrases his own statement. But Tatian seems at this point to be combining Matthew xxvii. 57 with Luke xxiii. 50, and Matthew describes Joseph's station and place of residence before giving his name.

In their description of Joseph, the Greek and the versions disagree in two minor details. The Greek is satisfied to call him a councillor. The Arabic adds "rich," the Latin and Dutch "rich and noble." The shorter reading is naturally preferable in such an instance, particularly as the term "councillor" implies that the man had a high social and financial standing. The Greek, having finally mentioned his name, describes Joseph as *ἀγαθος δίκαιος* in a rather awkward way. The awkwardness lies in the distance separating these adjectives from the noun (*ἄνθρωπος*) they qualify, and in the absence of the conjunction between them. The versions agree in supplying the conjunction³ and in introducing a correlative of the

¹ See above, p. 20.

² So far as the Arabic is concerned, the Greek text can have read either *ἄνθρωπος* or *ἀνὴρ*.

³ The absence of the conjunction from the Arabic is idiomatic rather than textual.

noun qualified. This the grammar of the sentence would seem to require. However, there is excellent support in the manuscripts of Luke for the omission of ἀνὴρ before and καί after ἄγαθος. The parchment may therefore be correct in its rendering.¹

There are two instances of departure from Gospel standards in the preference given to verbs compounded with prepositions. The first is the substitution of προσῆλθεν for ἦλθεν, the second that of κατακεκρυμμένος for κεκρυμμένος. Both may safely be ascribed to Tatian even though the versions of the Diatessaron naturally afford no evidence of their use. The second has already been commented upon.² The former is quite in line with what the sense of the passage both here and in the Gospels demands, for Matthew and Luke, having introduced Joseph, resume the thread of actual narrative with the compound προσελθών, while Mark uses εἰσῆλθεν.

The only other point of any importance is the form in which the name Arimathaea is rendered in the parchment by Εριν-μαθαία. This is absolutely unique in the textual tradition of the New Testament as well as in that of the Diatessaron. Yet it is not entirely inexplicable. Basically it illustrates that same uncertainty that appears in so many proper names taken over from Hebrew, as to the doubling of a medial consonant.³ In the transcription of ארימתי the Dura fragment follows one practice, the New Testament manuscripts another, the latter being the more correct from the Semitic point of view. The form which the parchment exhibits probably arose from Ἀριμμαθαία by the change of unaccented α to ε before ρ,⁴ and by the dissimilation of the first μ. The latter change produces the effect achieved by the non-assimilation of ν in the vernacu-

¹ The Arabic is clearly inferior in referring to Joseph as a disciple "who hid himself" in fear of the Jews.

² See above, p. 10.

³ Cf. Παμμαθ and Παμάθ in the Codex Alexandrinus in III Kgs. xxii. 20 and I Kgs. xxx. 27 as the transcription of מומת, and the fluctuation between *mamona* and *mammona* in Mt. vi. 24 of the Old Latin codices.

⁴ See J. H. Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, Vol. II, 1919, pp. 65-67. Cf. also Ἐρεμάθ as a rendering of ממת in Codex B of III Kgs. iv. 13.

lar of the day.¹ Ἐρινυμαθαία is therefore nothing more than a vulgar form of Ἀριμαθαία. It is strange only because we have not seen it before.²

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 104–105.

² Tatian is apparently correcting Luke when he describes Arimathaea as a “city of Judaea” rather than as a “city of the Jews.” The correction takes cognizance of the fact that at the time of the events narrated Judaea was already being administered by Roman officials.

VI

THE TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT AND THE DURA FRAGMENT

The real nature of the Gospel text that Tatian used in compiling his Diatessaron is one of the perennial problems of New Testament textual criticism. The contribution which the Dura fragment can make toward its solution is slight indeed, partly because it is so small and partly because the passage it preserves is conspicuous for the absence rather than the presence of striking variants in the manuscripts of the separate Gospels. This makes it impossible to connect its text definitely with any one specific family of codices. The following points may, however, be noted:¹

(i) The fragment twice agrees with B sah against everything else:

l. 1 (Lk. xxiii. 49) add αἱ ἀντὶ τῶν γυναικῶν

l. 9 (Lk. xxiii. 50) ὅτι καὶ ἰντὲρ ἀγαθὸς ἐὶ δίκαιος

Either of these might be an accident, but that this rather rare and often significant combination should be found twice in ten lines occasions thought, especially since B sah represents Alexandria and Egypt, not Mesopotamia and Rome.

(ii) The fragment has two agreements with D:

l. 4 (Lk. xxiii. 54) ἦν δὲ ἡ ἡμέρα παρασκευὴ πρὸ καὶ ἡμέρα ἦν παρασκευὴ [vel -ης]

l. 9 (Lk. xxiii. 50) ὅτι καὶ ἀνὴρ

The first of these is also found in Syr S and the second in Γ and the European Latin, but their possible importance is diminished by the absence from the fragment of much more striking Bezan readings, notably *πρὸ σαββάτου* for *παρασκευῆς*, and *πρὶν σάββατον* for *προσάββατον*.

(iii) The fragment has two agreements with Syr S. First, Syr S shares with D the reading *ἦν δὲ ἡ ἡμέρα* for *καὶ ἡμέρα ἦν*,

¹ A full critical apparatus to the text is given at the end of this volume.

and secondly, it describes Arimathaea as a "city of Judaea" instead of a "city of the Jews." In this it is supported by other Syriac authorities and by b vg, but the importance of this reading is diminished by the fact that the fragment does not agree with the Syriac reading *Ramtha* for *Arimathaea*. Tatian and Jerome may well have emended "Jews" to "Judaea" merely from a desire for historical accuracy.¹

(iv) The fragment nowhere agrees with the Ecclesiastical text, but it has one reading, the omission of *καί* before *σάββατον* in l. 4, which is found in none of the more generally admired manuscripts but only in APTAH *al pler sah*. The recurrence of the Sahidic is noticeable, but the variant can scarcely be regarded as of primary importance and may be a pure accident.

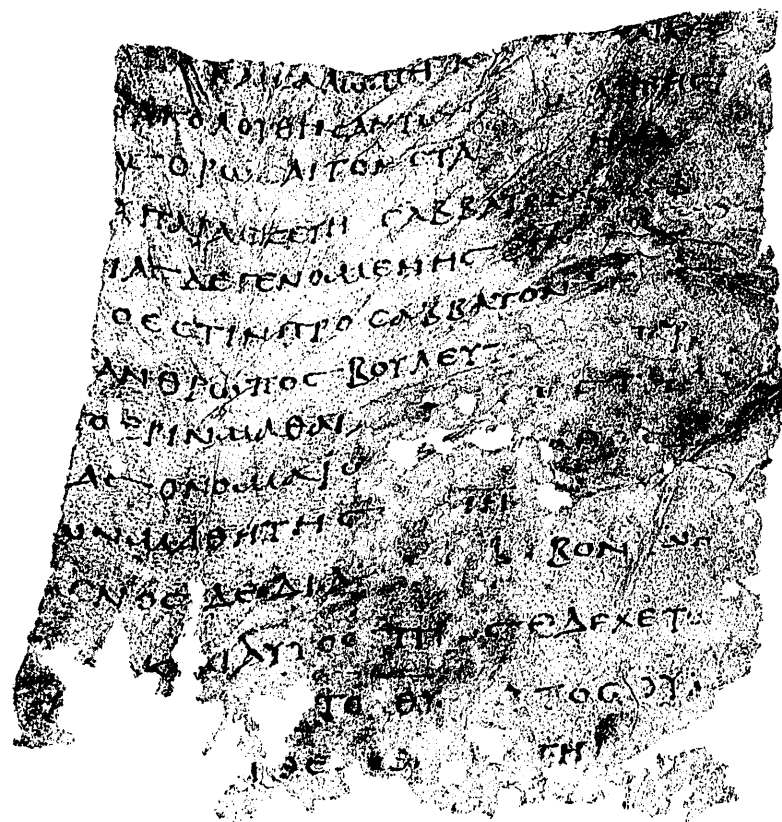
The foregoing analysis of the Dura fragment shows that it belonged without doubt to a copy of Tatian's Diatessaron, and that it preserves its text with a relatively high degree of fidelity. Of its excellence there are two simple indications: — first, the close agreement of its wording with the text of the Gospels as Tatian probably knew them, and second, the small proportion of genuinely indefensible and improbable readings it contains. More important, however, is the fact that with the Greek fragment before us, the vagaries of the individual versions of the Diatessaron become exceptionally clear and assume a definite recensional character. In this respect it entirely supports the conclusions drawn by Burkitt and others from the quotations from the Diatessaron in the Commentary of Ephraem.² The Dura fragment thus gives us our first glimpse of the actual text of the Diatessaron before it was affected by the growing demand for conformity to ecclesiastical standards and authority. In this its importance for our knowledge of the Harmony will doubtless continue to be seen.

¹ It should be noted that the Dura fragment uses the full form of Mk. xv. 42 found in the Greek manuscripts and not the short form found in Syr S.

² See especially F. C. Burkitt, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 206.

FACSIMILE OF DURA PARCHMENT 24

TRANSCRIPTION



- 1 [ζεβεδ]ΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΓΑΛΩΜΗ Κ[α]! Α
- 2 [των συ]ΝΑΚΟΛΟΥΘΗCΑΝΤΩΝ Α[υτ]ω
- 3 [γαλιλαι]ΑC ΟΡΩCΑΙ ΤΟΝ CΤΑ.
- 4 [η ημερ]Α ΠΑΡΑCΚΕΥΗ CΑΒΒΑΤ
- 5 [σκεν ο]ΨΙΑC ΔΕ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΗC ΕΠΙ
- 6 [κευη] Ο ΕCΤΙΝ ΠΡΟCΑΒΒΑΤ
- 7 [ηλθεν] ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟC ΒΟΥΛΕΥΤΗ
- 8 [χων α]ΠΟ ΕΡΙΝΜΑΘΑΙΑ[ς] Π[ο]
- 9 [ιουδαι]ΑC ΟΝΟΜΑ ΙΩ[σηφ] Α[γ]
- 10 [καιος] ΩΝ ΜΑΘΗΤΗC [το]Υ ΙΗ
- 11 [κρυμ]ΜΕΝΟC ΔΕ ΔΙΑ ΤΟΝ Φ
- 12 [ιουδαιω]Ν ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟC Π
- 13 [την] Β[ασιλειαν] ΤΟΥ ΘΥ. Ο
- 14 [ην] CΥΝΚΑΤΑΤ]ΙΘΕΜΕΝ[ο]C ΤΗ

COMPOSITION AND APPARATUS CRITICUS

1	Ζεβεδαίου καὶ Σαλώμη καὶ γυναῖκες	Mt xxvii 56 Mk xv 40 Lk xxiii 49b-c
2	αἱ συνακολουθοῦσαι αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τῆς	
3	Γαλιλαίας ὁρῶσαι τὰντα καὶ	Lk xxiii 54
4	ἡμέρα ἣν παρασκευῆς καὶ σάββατον ἐπέφω-	
5	σκεν ὀψίας δὲ γενομένης ἐπεὶ ἦν παρασ-	Mt xxvii 57 Mk xv 42
6	κευή, ὃ ἐστὶ προσάββατον	
7	ἦλθεν ἄνθρωπος πλούσιος βουλευτῆς ὑπάρχων	Mt xxvii 57 Lk xxiii 50
8	ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας πόλεως τῶν	[Mt xxvii 57] Lk xxiii 51
9	Ἰουδαίων τοῦνομα Ἰωσήφ ἀνὴρ ἄγαθος καὶ δι-	Mt xxvii 57 Lk xxiii 50
10	καιος ὢν μαθητῆς τοῦ Ἰησοῦ κε-	Jn xix 38
11	κρυμμένος δὲ διὰ τὸν φόβον τῶν	
12	Ἰουδαίων καὶ αὐτὸς προσεδέχετο	Mt xxvii 57 Lk xxiii 51b
13	τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, οὗτος οὐκ	Lk xxiii 51a
14	ἦν συνκατατεθειμένος τῇ βουλῇ	

N. B. *Readings in boldface are those of the Fragment.*

1 Lk xxiii 49 γυναῖκες **NADL** cet omn, αι γυναῖκες B sah
 συνακολουθησασαι **ADPΓΑΠΘ** al pler 5, των συνακολουθησαντων
 3 f Lk xxiii 54 και ημερα ην **NBCL** al pler, και η ημερα ην A fam¹³ al pauc sah arm, ην δε η ημερα D c syr S
 παρασκευης **NBC*L** fam¹³ a b c e l q vg, παρασκευη **AC*PΧΔΔΠ** unc⁸ al pler f ff Eus, προ σαββατου D,
2Λαοῶν syrr 4 και **NBC*LΘ** fam¹ fam¹³ 33 al pauc lat boh syr SCP (Harel c obel.) arm Eus,
 om και **AC*PΧΓΑΔΠ** unc⁸ al pler sah 5 Matt xxvii 57 δε codd omn exc A*, om δε A* Mk xv 42
 επει ην παρασκευη codd omn exc A, επειδη κ.τ.λ. A, επι τη παρασκευη 6 προσαββατον **NB*CKMΔΘΠ*** fam¹
 69 33 al permu, προσ σαββατον **AB³EGHLΠ²** al plus 50, πριν σαββατον D 7 Matt xxvii 57 ηλθεν codd
 omn, προσηλθεν πλουσιος codd omn et Tatar fuld, om 8 Lk xxiii 51 [vel Matt xxvii 57] αριμαθειας in
 evang singulis codd gr nonnulli αρει- et -θειας habent, ramtha (**2Λαοῶν**) syrr et syr hlmg in Matt xxvii 57
 sed non Tatar fuld, ερινμαθιασ 8f Lk xxiii 51 των ιουδαιων codd gr omn, της ιουδαιας b vg syr SCP
 Tatar fuld 9 Matt xxvii 57 τουνομα codd omn exc D, το ονομα D, ονομα Lk xxiii 50 ανηρ ΒΑΔΔΠ
 unc⁸ al pler Tatar fuld 5, και ανηρ **NCLX** 33 al pauc, om DΓ a b eff q. 9f αγαθος και δικαιος codd omn
 exc B sah, αγαθος δικαιος B sah δικαιος και αγαθος syr SC 10f Joh xix 38 κερυμμενος codd omn.
 κατακεκρυμμενος 12 Lk xxiii 51b προσεδεχετο, ος προσεδεχετο **NBCLD** lateur sah boh, ος και προσεδεχετο
 Γ fam¹³, και προσεδεχετο syr SCP Tatar ned ος και αυτος προσεδεχετο **KIIMPUX** al pauc, ος προσεδεχετο και
 αυτος fam-1 33 Tatar fuld al pauc, ος και προσεδεχετο και αυτος **AΕFGHΑΘ** al pler 5 13 Lk xxiii 51a
 συνκατατεθειμενος **ABPΓΘΑ(Π)** unc⁸, συγκατατεθειμενος **NCDLXΔ** fam¹ fam¹³ 28 al pauc

BS	1 143 776
3560	Tatianus
A2T2K9	A Greek fragment of
1935	Tatian's Diatessaron
(ce)	
S 30 '36	Bindery Je 24 '37
Ja 16 '39	E. Bartelmez
Ja 24 '39	5638 Kenwood Ave.
Ja 24 '39	E. Bartelmez
	Wielboldt RR. 147
Je 17 '40	Ag - 4 148



1 143 776

Tatianus

BS 3560

.A2T2K9

1935



UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



20 737 579